

April, 1933

The Journal of Educational Sociology

A Magazine of Theory and Practice

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND EDUCATION

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The JOURNAL of EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

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EDITORIAL

The present issue of THE JOURNAL which has been prepared under the direction of Dr. Frederic M. Thrasher, associate professor of education and director of the Boys' Club and Motion Picture Studies of New York University, is particularly timely.

Many additional topics bearing upon the general problem discussed in this issue would have made subjects for interesting articles, had space permitted, such as:

The "Save-the-Boy Movement" in Jersey City, New Jersey, in which the public schools are performing an important function in preventive work along with other agencies of the community.

The Committee for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency of the New York City Principals Association which is a major project of that Association for 1932 and 1933. The aim of the Committee for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency is twofold:

1. To develop a practical functioning program for the prevention of juvenile delinquency

2. To apply the program experimentally in certain selected sections

The program for the first objective is fourfold:

- a) To detect cases of potential delinquency
- b) To set up a diagnostic program for the clinic study of delinquency cases
- c) To work out a remedial program both intramural and extramural
- d) To lay out a program for preventive work

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HOW DOES THE SCHOOL PRODUCE OR PREVENT DELINQUENCY?

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Judge Baker Foundation.

The objective of this paper is the consideration of the relationship between school life and delinquency. One way of looking at both of these is that each represents an exceedingly important type of activity expressing needs, wants, and desires of children as they live under the conditions of modern society.

In the last three generations, one of the practical ideals of our forefathers has come to fruitful expression in the furtherance of school education for every child. So well has this ideal been realized that the student of social history can but be amazed at the extent to which the thoroughness and prolongation of public-school education has advanced in the last few decades. The school has become a vastly powerful factor in the life of childhood and youth. Next to the home, it appears as the most widely operative influence in the life of our young people. Secondary to the influences of family relationships and parental upbringing, it is the most constructive force in the formation of life's attitudes and interests.

The second mentioned social activity—really just this, though not often spoken of as such—is delinquency. Because of its extensiveness, the very frequent continuance of delinquency into criminal careers and the costliness to society of a delinquent and criminal career, delinquency is to be regarded as one of the major concerns of organized society. We need not discuss whether juvenile delinquency is or is not increasing—something very difficult to answer because of the many variables involved. The fact is that there is an immense amount of it and that among our great criminal population a very large percentage definitely began their careers with delinquency during

the years they were attending school. The school had these young people largely in charge when they were developing antisocial trends. This fact on the very face of it offers a great challenge.

Our two main queries—and we raise queries rather than offer sermonizings—center about two questions: To what extent and in what ways does school life ever possibly contribute to the development of antisocial trends expressed in the form of delinquency? To what extent and by what methods can the school be an effective agent in the prevention of delinquent careers?

Before determining any reply to these inquiries we must always take due account of the fact that through its school laws society does put its hands on every child, saying to it: Come to us and over eight or ten years we will educate you, draw you forth, develop you. In the light of this seizure of the child, can responsibility in considerable measure for character and conduct formation be evaded?

Perhaps one can go back of this and ask whether in the educational organization itself, supposed to exist entirely for the child's welfare, there can occur situations which are baleful influences for any child. And if there are, is it to be conceded that the school is to be held accountable for any disadvantages that accrue to the given child? Or, more specifically, are there school situations which create or arouse the growth of antisocial attitudes, and, if so, to what extent should the school make definite attempts to avoid or to meet such situations? We have had enough experience with specific cases to realize that these questions are pertinent and vitally significant.

And to go further, since, through their training, educators would seem properly to have at their command awarenesses and understandings of conduct trends, is it integrally a part of their province to utilize such implements towards the prevention of the development of such delinquent attitudes and behavior as may be discernible? In other words, have school people any responsibility for undertaking the prevention of delinquency, which does not

directly arise from a school situation? Have educators obligations and duties in this matter of the prevention of delinquency, or are they merely to be considered as possessing techniques for passing on knowledge and skills? Are they to be believers in or to be concerned with the noble ideals of many of the outstanding figures in educational theory, those who accented the development of the whole child as a socialized being?

POOR ADAPTATION TO THE CURRICULUM

It has been very convincingly stated by several students of delinquency that school maladjustments of both upper and lower intelligence groupings are significantly related to the growth of delinquent trends. We agree to this, but would include those children who have special disabilities for any school subjects. The reasons for all this seems clear enough in the light of the situations considered below.

For the sake of logical presentation, incomplete to be sure, we may regard some types of problems as they fall in the above groupings. And all through we shall only consider the development of conduct trends which we have observed growing into full-blown delinquency. We may first review some instances where the ordered school régime penalizes certain children who present no special liabilities or who even are endowed with special assets.

It has been astonishing to us to find over the years some considerable number of very bright boys who are much more challenged by delinquent activities than by what they found to interest them in school life. Indeed, we have to confess that in some instances it has seemed to us that their skilled predatory pursuits have been much more in keeping with their intellectual status than the meager mental content offered by the school. In example, we might cite a most tragic case, finally ending in a penitentiary sentence and, perhaps fortunately, in death. We first knew him as a boy of fourteen in the fifth grade. At his court appearance, it came out that he was the leader of a group quite proficient in burglary. Because of his school retardation, the court people thought of him as being probably

subnormal. Psychological tests, however, showed his mental age to be about seventeen years. His academic backwardness was the result of frequent school changes, due to his father's being a seasonal worker who had frequently to move his residence. The boy had been made to repeat grades until he, quite naturally, had completely lost interest in school. He found himself with children much younger in age and vastly younger from an intelligence standpoint. To us he made his dissatisfaction very clear, with expressed scorn of the childish material of his school books—his reader told about "blackbirds sitting in the trees." He reacted by chronic truancy and found his satisfactions in antisocial activities worthy of his mettle.

Was it necessary for such a boy, representative of a whole group of cases in our series, to be so handicapped by school changes and to be so thwarted in school satisfactions? When his retardation first showed, could he not have received the minimum of aid that was necessary to have enabled him to maintain grade standing equivalent to his age, to say nothing of being commensurate with his outstanding capacity? Is it intelligent for a school system to have no provision for helping a student maintain himself upon his normal level even though coming from another system where the curriculum may be somewhat different? Of course, the easiest method admittedly is that of forcing the child to repeat a grade or demoting him, but it certainly is the costliest procedure.

At fourteen years, it was already too late to do much with this boy, with his long established bad attitudes towards school life. The discerning court officers found the case too difficult because there was no machinery in the schools to bridge the vast gap between his grade standing and the type of school work that might have interested and perhaps reclaimed him.

What can be accomplished when school people gain understanding and are coöperative is shown in the case of a boy nine years of age when seen by us, already the bad boy of his district in a town of moderate size. His de-

linquencies were of an aggressive, adventuresome type, including staying away from home long hours at night with older bad companions, some stealing, and a small amount of truancy. The case was particularly interesting because the parents were altogether of a good sort and the home, and particularly the father, had much to offer. This boy was in the fourth grade doing poor school work and it was proposed to place him in the third grade on account of this. We ascertained, however, that he was very much interested in geography, that he read much, and had some little talent for drawing. He was an energetic, active youngster, very fond of sports.

Our examination showed him to have an I.Q. of 125, with reading comprehension and information considerably above his years and his grade. His reasoning powers were particularly good. In the earlier grades, the teachers had found him somewhat troublesome on account of both his physical and intellectual activity but regarded him as likable and he did good work. To us there seemed no doubt that it was a question of challenging his interests which had within the last year turned so strongly away from school. At our suggestion, he was advanced to the fifth grade and given some special tutoring in arithmetic in which otherwise he would be found deficient. He maintained himself readily in the higher grade and within a short time was able to break off his associations with the older dull group with whom he had been in delinquency. His drawing and reading interests were fostered and through these and the other new mental content derived from his advancement he was able to find quite sufficient satisfactions other than antisocial behavior. Succeeding years have shown an increasing stability and assumption of responsibility that was undoubtedly due more to school adjustment than any other factor.

We know full well that recognition of the needs of super-endowed children has led some school systems to provide opportunities for rapid advancement or, better still, an enriched curriculum, but such wise planning is compara-

tively rare. Where such opportunities are not afforded, what behavior is to be expected as the normal reactive tendency of a highly endowed child in a dull school situation? Does not the child naturally turn elsewhere for mental pabulum? And if delinquency offers a greater adventure in satisfying the normal craving for new experiences, does it not represent normal behavior, unfortunately antisocial though it may be?

✓ Delinquent behavior occurring among children who are poorly endowed intellectually is very generally recognized as being related to the mental subnormality. Indeed, the correlation between poor school achievement and truancy or other forms of misbehavior is often somewhat overstated, although it is universally true that delinquents as they appear in court show a relatively greater proportion of subnormal intelligence than appears in the general population. The general fact is so true and so understandable that no illustration need be given. The subnormal individual if left with his age group finds himself in competition completely beyond his powers; if in a special class he has the disadvantage of being rated a dullard. In either case, he may acquire a feeling of inadequacy and inferiority. Thus, many of this group find themselves without the recognition and security and satisfactions that any child needs for his personality and moral development. Failing to obtain these, nothing is more natural than that the child turn to activities that afford him satisfactions. The pleasurable returns of delinquency are very real and are measurable in concrete terms of success and achievement. That seems very plain to anybody who delves into motivations of delinquency through getting youngsters to reveal themselves by friendly inquiries through which the child can be led to give an account of his own life situation.

It is very fortunate that the efforts of school people to develop in special classes the educational and vocational aptitudes of subnormal children include attention to their special abilities. We find very few even clearly defective

children who have not some ability that rises above the general level of disability. Many investigators have shown the curious fact that a considerable proportion of delinquent defective children are distinctly hand-minded, able to comprehend concrete relationships and to work with concrete material as well as the average child of their age and sometimes better. Testing for motor skills of all kinds, such as eye-hand coördinations and for mechanical dexterity, proves the point as such abilities are found in large proportion among the subnormal delinquents who have come to our attention.

The late Judge Cabot of the Boston Juvenile Court became so impressed by the validity of these findings and by the common-sense values of ascertaining special utilizable abilities that he strongly emphasized the social import of this matter in his daily work and in his presentations of juvenile-court ideals. Therefore, psychological examination of a subnormal delinquent should consist of more than giving him an intelligence quotient; whenever possible special abilities should be ascertained and the findings made known to school authorities who might respond by utilizing these abilities for the production of greater school achievement and satisfaction. We can attest, as can many others in this field, that work with subnormal delinquents on the basis of developing their special abilities has been a saving grace for them, developing interests, achievements, and superiorities that in many cases have been able to outweigh the pleasurable activities that had been begun in the field of antisocial conduct.

The child with special disabilities for any of the school subjects is much less understood as a case of delinquency with definite causations in academic maladjustment. Most important for school success in modern life, with the subordination of manual accomplishments and arts to facility with abstractions and symbols, is the ability to read well. This leads to the fact that reading disability brings in its train a host of failures and the consequent development

of unfortunate emotional attitudes, whether the disability be with the mechanics or with the comprehension of reading. Just now in a few centers in this country there is a lively awakening to the extreme importance of reading disability and the necessity of special remedial training. Its relationship to antisocial conduct can be readily understood. We have first-hand data in certain cases studied in our clinic.

A juvenile-court boy of eleven years appeared before us with a very usual story. He with his companions had been stealing to their own advantage, even breaking into a warehouse and taking bicycles, air rifles, and other articles tempting to young lads. Besides this, he was reported to us as being irritable and troublesome in school. He was being tried in the fifth grade but was doing so poorly that there was no hope of his passing. School achievement tests for us showed arithmetic was of a good quality for his grade; spelling, much below grade; and reading no better than third grade with a vocabulary of an eight-year level. In spite of being penalized so greatly for his lack of facility with language, he obtained an I.Q. of 106; he succeeded on as many tests of the fourteen-year level as he did on the ten-year group of tests, and, indeed, passed two of the sixteen-year tests. His powers of reasoning and generalization were distinctly superior. If his vocabulary and reading powers were even on a twelve-year basis, his intelligence quotient would have been ten points or more higher, and his I.Q. would have classified him as distinctly superior. The boy was keen enough to attempt substitution of words in passages which he attempted to read. This constituted a sort of cheating which we found spread occasionally to his performance on other tests. He assumed an unpleasantly bold and self-confident air by way of compensation for his disability and finally admitted boastfully that he frequently tried cheating. His attitude towards school found expression in distinct hatred. "All kids hate school." But before our interviews were finished, he dem-

onstrated that he really liked arithmetic; he showed evident pleasure in answering arithmetical questions and in rapid work with simple arithmetic problems. His rich phantasy life centered very extensively about the adventures of cowboys and of gangsters, acquaintance with which he derived from the movies. He told of daydreaming much about these movies when he was in school.

Here is a case where the development of a delinquent career is imminent, with every proof that one fundamental basis for it lies in school dissatisfaction because there has been no recognition of his special disability. Bright as he undoubtedly is, he is already retarded one grade in school and has reached the fifth grade without ever having received any aid for his main trouble. Is there any doubt that success of remedial efforts by the probation officer will depend mostly upon remedial education in the school?

We have known numerous instances where school people with a flair for constructive character and personality development have taken in hand some boy or girl who has already shown delinquent tendencies. And often the results have been marvelously good. Various techniques and adaptations have been utilized, too varied to enumerate. The common device of utilizing some little executive ability that the child has sometimes works well, as when a boy is made a monitor or an assistant or given special office work by the principal. The game is to give the child status and recognition as well as to occupy him in jobs that he can perform well. Or what can be done occasionally is illustrated by the case of a boy, seventeen years old, who had been engaged in very serious delinquency with companions. This boy was in high school but had an I.Q. of only 83 with, however, comparatively better capacities for arithmetical work, etc., that he was taking in the commercial course. On account of his companionship, his difficulty with keeping up with the class, and his ready satisfactions which he could obtain outside the schoolroom through his physical activity, we felt that he was a bad

prospect unless some one could give him much stimulation and personal help. The athletic coach took this case on as his own job and has made a wonderful success of it through utilizing the boy's athletic prowess, keeping him in line with teamwork and good sportsmanship, and inducing him to work harder at school subjects in order to retain his enviable position on the school teams. This is a case, of course, where a very special ability for other than curricular activities was taken advantage of by a man who showed fine spirit in wanting to save a boy.

In passing, one should think earnestly about school dissatisfactions as they are related to truancy because in the evolution of many delinquent and criminal careers truancy stands out as the earliest manifestation. Unwarranted absence from school has from the start an antisocial savor. The truant child feels himself a little criminal and by this same token appears to be very readily drawn into other forms of delinquency. This may not be so true of country truancy with the boys going on the proverbial fishing excursion. But certainly in the city, the truant, with unoccupied time on his hands and often joining with other truants, is prone to have uppermost in his mind the idea of other escapades or deviltries—raiding the five- and ten-cent store or market wagons or trucks. The prevalence of such beginnings makes a perfect truth of the adage: "Truancy is the kindergarten of crime."

It thus comes about that one of the greatest possible preventives of the development of a criminal career is to be found in study of the causes of the earliest manifestations of truancy with attempt at remedy of the causes.

THE MATERIAL OF THOUGHT LIFE

With the upbuilding of good citizenship in mind, an oft-recurring question with us is what can the school be expected to offer the child. (Can he be offered material that intrigues him to take over from the schoolroom mental interests that become part of his daily thought life?) In other words, should the school make a profound attempt

to give the child (something to live by?) For the sake of our American civilization, we are deeply concerned about this matter because it is very evident that in homes poor from a cultural standpoint there is little or nothing given the child to dwell on with satisfaction, whether for consciously directed thinking or for phantasy life. The child is going to obtain mental food from somewhere and a vastly important question is whether he is to be persuasively offered it by the school. Those who think of the school teacher's job as confined to drilling the pupil in the necessary techniques of the three R's or to impart information on history and geography, all of which has so little to do with everyday living that the child takes no vital interest in it, forget that normal mental activity inevitably must find material for itself.

It is extremely seldom that our records of delinquents, which reveal so much of the inner world of childhood, show the slightest indication of any commanding interests based on material derived from the schoolroom. Fifty years ago this might not have been true, but at present the school is in deadly competition with the activities of the street, with the radio, movies, and the newspapers. And from all these other sources the child naturally seizes upon the crudely dramatic and the lurid, both usually unwholesome. A vast number of homes are totally unfitted and unequipped to offset this and the net result spells menace to good personality development and to our whole civilization. What part can or should the school play in forestalling the disasters of character development that through such weaknesses in the child's environment are constantly occurring and that are bound to occur?

An illustration of the meaningfulness of this whole matter of thought life is shown by the case of a ten-year-old boy who appeared in court for a number of delinquencies, including several times breaking into a schoolhouse with companions. We sized him up as being an attractive, alert child, intense, dynamic, rather aggressive, with an I.Q.

of 97. He was the child of immigrant parents who had not been well educated themselves, although in the family there were some scholars. The whole scheme of American life was a mystery to the father; he frankly stated that he had given up making any attempt to solve it. He wanted everything good for the boy, but when the child came rushing home with a description of some exciting news the father felt that the boy's interests were so remote from that of his parents that they just could not understand him or deal with him. His father commented very strongly on the fact that the boy gained none of his interests from school life, his mental curiosity was not in the least satisfied by what he learned at school. From the school itself we heard that the boy was good in content studies, ranking very high in geography, but that he had so much else on his mind that he did not accomplish much in his other subjects, and so he was scheduled to repeat the fourth grade. On his part, the father wanted to offer this boy lively mental interests and conceived the idea that since Americans seem to be largely educated through reading newspapers, he would afford him that opportunity. He regularly bought two papers a day for him.

From studying the boy's mental life ourselves we found that what he had absorbed from these newspapers was largely unwholesome. At this time the famous Gerald Chapman case was prominently played up in the headlines and long versions of it appeared in the columns. The boy was full of it and with his companions had organized a little gang who played what they called the "Chapman game." As a matter of fact, it was because the police followed one boy leading another whose hands were joined together with handcuffs that the hangout of this crowd was found and the "swag" discovered. The gang met there not only to enjoy the possession of their booty, but also to discuss the rights and wrongs of Chapman's swinging for his crimes.

It is most significant that this boy when removed to an-

other environment that offered him an entirely different type of mental content immediately became engrossed equally by it and ceased his delinquent conduct. A report the following year stated that his change in behavior was nothing short of miraculous.

This extraordinary instance gives very plain indication of what is going on with many children and our query is whether the school is playing the part it should. This boy with his imaginativeness, inquisitiveness, and overflow of energy, all of a very normal boyish sort, merely represents in somewhat more aggressive form what is frequently to be found. There are a great number of others who, even though expressing themselves in more passive ways, are receiving the content of their ideational life from equally undesirable sources which the school curriculum does little or nothing to offset or combat.

PHYSICAL HANDICAPS AS RELATED TO THE SCHOOL SITUATION

Even in the school systems where good physical examinations are undertaken and treatment instituted, any handicap is practically always considered merely in terms of academic performance. We find very little attention is paid to physical conditions as they may be related to personality difficulties which often loom large in the school situation and sometimes definitely tend to engender delinquent behavior. A host of cases might be cited in point, with great variations of the actual physical findings. In the limited space at our disposal, it seems necessary only to mention very few cases for the purpose of emphasizing the main generalization.

> Handicaps that lead the pupil to be teased by his school-fellows create the outstanding situations that we have known to be related to delinquency. In a number of instances when a boy was cross-eyed he found the jeering of his comrades quite intolerable. Extremely difficult delinquent cases have been based on this. The child in his more protected environment before he went to school was

able to support himself without delinquent behavior, but after a year or more of trial in school life became extremely recalcitrant because he felt himself rejected by his fellows. One boy of particularly good physique became a most aggressive fighter against his teachers and others, and rapidly became a notorious delinquent. Another truanted as much as possible and, being of a quieter type, shunned all except a delinquent group in which he felt accepted. His career from a delinquency standpoint was very checkered until he was a young adolescent and an operation remedied his difficulties. Then, through other satisfactions being offered, he ceased his antisocial activities. Previously, the school could have had full cognizance of the significance of the main source of his difficulties, but did nothing to understand the whole picture and valuable years were lost, with no little expense to society.

The terrible social handicap of stuttering with its very plain relationship, in some cases, to the development of a delinquent career has repeatedly been dwelled on by a number of those working in this field and need not here be more than barely mentioned.

Much less well known are the variabilities in auditory powers caused by ear diseases. In one of the most marked cases of this that we have followed, expert opinion and careful observation proved that the difficulty lay in the fact that the boy's hearing powers were very considerably lessened at times by atmospheric dampness. The boy himself in his younger years hardly knew what was the matter with him. His teachers, not suspecting an ear disease because of his periods of normal hearing, attributed his troubles to character defects. His inadequacy to meet the school situation led, through the constant blaming of the boy, to an immense sense of inferiority and inadequacy that has followed him through to young adult life, where he still remains, through patterns of behavior long established, an individual easily succumbing to temptations towards delinquency.

The prescription of the school physician sometimes shows utter lack of comprehension of its implications for behavior tendencies. An extreme case of this is that of a boy who was brought to our Chicago clinic as being one of the most expert young burglars and "second-story operators" in the city. At about thirteen, found by the school doctor to have a heart lesion, he had been ruled out from attending his classes because he would have to climb two flights of stairs. The tragic joke of it was that he speedily found himself an adept in climbing fire escapes and getting over transoms. He became a nimble and quick-witted burglar—totally disregarding the physician's advice. As we saw him a couple of years later he had apparently not harmed his cardiac functions in the least by his lively criminal activities.

Being so small sized that it is impossible to compete satisfactorily with his schoolfellows on the playground, together with being given nicknames that cause a sense of inferiority, leads some boys to compensate by delinquent behavior which brings a sense of adequacy and success. Very small youngsters find themselves, as in *Oliver Twist*, quite deft in petty larcenies and at picking pockets. Some are quite proud of such compensatory achievements.

Just as real is the case of the immensely oversized boy who dislikes so terribly to associate with vastly smaller children of his own age group. Many times we have seen this as a factor with the boy seeking and finding satisfactions in adventuresome delinquencies.

What can be done about such matters? Is it not the place of the school, as part of our general social organization, to be as understanding and helpful as possible through realization of all that is implied in school maladjustments that are the result of physical conditions? The whole situation of the individual can be thought through in the light of natural urges for recognition, for satisfactory response, and the probability of compensatory behavior as related

to feelings of inferiority. Is it not within the province of principals, teachers, and school nurses to take cognizance of all this and to offer some specially adapted treatment?

INIMICAL SCHOOL COMPANIONSHIPS

Perhaps it might be thought that the school is not highly responsible for the influence of children upon each other, but, as we insist, the school is forcing such companionship. Prior to school age, intelligent parents generally know something of their child's companionships. When society to a considerable degree takes in charge the child's life, he is almost always thrown with others about whom the guardians of the child know little or nothing. Does not then the young life become very considerably a matter for oversight by the school people? If children are thrown together from widely different standards of culture and upbringing, should there not be great care to prevent harm being done? We could offer hundreds of cases in which delinquency contagion has been the result of school companionship, and in not a few cases the troubles have arisen within the area of immediate school contacts.

It may easily be imagined that most of this delinquent contagion is related to sex misconduct. We can omit the rarer cases of other types of delinquent contagion to discuss unfortunate sex communications and sex experiences that take place in unsupervised playgrounds or toilets.

Of course it is very difficult for school people to know what is going on *sub rosa*, and it is not altogether clear to what extent responsibility can be taken for poor companionship formed in school life but which is carried beyond school bounds. But it is sometimes obvious that a considerable negligence has existed. One of the worst crowd situations that we ever unearthed involved children of both sexes from a very reputable school. They met in a club-room which they had themselves secured and which was the center for many stealing and sex activities. As we probed into the situation, it became plain that if the janitor had informed the headmaster, a very good man, of what

he knew about the delinquent trends of certain three or four leading spirits in this mess, the whole affair which persisted over a long time and involved many children could have been prevented. Thus, some primary responsibility lay clearly on the shoulders of the school management.

To picture what may or may not be accomplished in accordance with different attitudes taken by those in charge of schools, we might contrast two large high schools. In both of them there arose a most unfortunate wholesale sex situation as a result of long-standing contagion. In one case, a very intelligent boy with a deep conflict about the whole matter revealed to us what he claimed were the actual facts. The head of the school refused to make any inquiry when we informed him, stating that he disbelieved it, that the boy was a liar, and so on. It was only when the parents of the boy, to whom we reported, went, after a period of indecision, to the parents of other boys and girls, that the truth came to light. It was a small town and the principal received much public censure because it was shown that the school itself was the center of the sexual communications, and that this should have been easily discernible.

An entirely different attitude and procedure obtained in another school system where the whole school body immediately took responsibility for what was going on after they found out about it from us. With the aid of parents, new adjustments for the children, and much personal help, an equally bad case was quickly cleared up with no expulsions.

It seems certain that some school people, like some parents, do not want to face the difficulties of reality. Still others are willing to believe the facts but seem helpless or unwilling to accept any obligation in the matter. However, we know by experience that when there is willingness to face the truth, and there is some understanding of causations combined with good executive ability, the school organization is very well fitted to accomplish abidingly good results in even such difficult situations as we have mentioned.

EMOTIONAL LIFE OF THE CHILD AS RELATED TO SCHOOL
AND DELINQUENCY

There is every evidence that in some cases emotional hurts occurring in school life play an important part in developing delinquent trends. So far as delinquency is concerned, the reactive behavior may vary greatly in directness; occasionally it is very apparent. One boy with whom we have been struggling had an immensely strong feeling of having been unjustly treated by his school teachers. And this feeling on his part had been carried over to all authority outside the home. He maintained that after some truancy on his part, the teacher promised him that if he made good in a disciplinary school for a period of three months, he could return to his regular class in good standing. His record for this period was satisfactory and for some months afterward, but still no reinstatement occurred. He began to spread his grievances to his boy friends, some of whom felt they too had been betrayed by teachers. We discerned from several of them how a powerful antisocial attitude grew. Their immediate expression of this was in entering the school building at night and under our boy's leadership stealing the possessions of this particular teacher. It was revenge upon her for having been untruthful to him, the boy told us.

In tracing back the career of a very difficult lad, a boy who had been in an excessive amount of delinquency, we found the start in truancy began when the boy, who had very little ear or voice for music, was forced to sing in front of the class which ridiculed him, inside and outside the classroom. Circumstances—the family moved just after this—made it possible for him to be successfully truant for about a year. Does a teacher realize what she may be doing to a boy when she offers him up for ridicule that will not end, as she might well suppose, with the classroom exercises?

Or we might tell of another boy whose tremendous recalcitrancy owed its origin to the teacher's comment,

"What's the matter with your mother that you come to school smelling like this?" There was friction at home, the alcoholic father was verbally abusive to the mother and this boy took her part and was her favorite. The boy felt that she was having "a raw deal" and regarded the teacher's remark as immensely unfair criticism. The boy was in constant trouble in school and became delinquent outside until he grew older and was able to leave school and shift for himself, when, under guidance, he became an independent nondelinquent adolescent. While he was in school, we never were able to overcome his critical attitude towards teachers, which was based on this unfair criticism of his mother.

Teachers' dislikes and prejudices, which, after all, are only a projection upon the pupil of their own personality difficulties, play no inconsiderable part in determining children's behavior. Enough has been written on this subject to make it quite clear; it is so much the theme of the psychoanalysts that some of them express the belief that it is necessary for good management of the classroom that teachers have psychoanalytic insight into their own problems. (Barbara Low's *Psychoanalysis in Education* and Zachry's *Personality Adjustments of School Children* may be referred to for special material on this subject.)

A very subtle point concerning teachers' attitudes is brought out but not satisfactorily explained in its etiological significances in a notable chapter of Hartshorne and May's *Studies in Deceit*. Here it is unequivocally shown that cheating under some teachers is endemic, regularly occurring with different groups of pupils. Another point is that the overstressing of some values is destructive to the child. We can give in illustration the case of a boy who on account of his family's laxity was frequently tardy; so much was made of it that he reacted by truancy which led him into further delinquency.

Arbitrary discipline is experienced by children, naturally, with great dissatisfaction. It may be due to the fact that a teacher or a principal is pathologically irritable or high

tempered or has an inordinate desire for power, itself dependent on subtle facts, such as an underlying sense of inferiority. "I hate school; I hate school," said a boy of twelve to us who was on the verge of becoming an out-and-out delinquent unless something could be done for him. In working with this case we found that he was an extremely industrious lad who voluntarily spent his spare time in a warehouse where he was very highly regarded by a group of good fellows who were really giving him apprenticeship training. The fault, we found, was on the part of the school—an impatient teacher did not know how to build up constructively the boy's attitudes in favor of the school, the hot-tempered principal jerked him about and punished him.

In such cases it is the child's feeling of insecurity, of being rejected, and his need for recognition—all representing fundamental urges—that underlie the misbehavior.

Another group of problems due to emotional attitude we have seen arising from the *social* situation which pupils find in school. There are many variations here, too, but examples are to be seen in the several cases of high-school girls who have stolen in order to keep up appearances as good as the others of the group. This very evident matter of social competition and possible deep-lying feeling of social inferiority has in some schools been well taken care of through consideration of such matter as clothes and spending money by parent-teacher associations.

CONCLUSION

The school is a social agency that, perhaps unfortunately, does not have to sell itself. The law compels attendance of every child, and in the minds of many that is all there is to it. And some think that aiming at arousal of interests is soft pedagogy. How can you create character if you make school subjects easy, they ask, but the true psychology of human beings makes the matter appear the other way around. If genuinely interested, a child puts forth greater

effort and struggle. And is it not possible to make difficult tasks interesting enough to put the child on his mettle? Real interest in school work will ever be one of the greatest preventives of delinquency. Efforts made in some centers, as in Newark under the leadership of Plant and Robinson, to keep the child actively participating and to save him from unfortunate emotional attitudes through not having him feel himself a failure are bound to show results.

When it comes to the question of the school's obligations to consider the child's emotional life as part and parcel of the school program, we can hardly agree with Judd who seems to believe, as expressed in Embree's *Prospecting for Heaven*, that the emotional development of the child is not essentially the business of the school. We discern in delinquent behavior the building up of antisocial conduct upon bases of emotional maladjustments. The school is the one organization that has a chance to know these and to do something constructively to prevent disaster. The school where there is understanding, willingness, and good judgment can do much by itself. In severer cases it can work with organizations, whatever their name may be, that act in the capacity of a juvenile protective association. It should, wherever practicable, utilize a guidance center where children's problems are thoroughly studied.

The White House Conference papers contain some pungent statements bearing upon the relationship between school life and delinquency. The fundamental philosophy of the school as a social activity is considered; it is a regulation of society for introduction of a child into social living. Hence, the primary question should not always be, "What does the child learn in school?" but, rather, "How does the child feel because of school?" Finding out how a child is feeling because of school leads to ascertainment of how he may succeed in this important realm of socialized living. The school in all its drama of social duties and privileges has a greater significance than being a mere dispenser of academic education.

THE SCHOOL AND THE JUVENILE COURT WORK TOGETHER

MARJORIE BELL, *Field Secretary, National Probation Association.*

"Here's a second Hickman for you," announced the special school officer in vibrant tones, his emotion discharging itself in righteous indignation. He urged that a charge of attempted rape be filed immediately against the boy for an offense committed "in the woods hollow" back of the school. The victim of the attack, a child several years younger than the boy, had run home crying hysterically, and her mother had at once informed the school authorities.

The frightened boy who was shoved into the probation office hardly seemed to justify the epithet applied to him. He had a sensitive, intelligent face, but was small for his fifteen years, being still in knickers. Pending inquiry into the facts and motives involved in a situation evidently serious, the filing of so grave a charge was held up by the discriminating probation officer who received the complaint. The details of the story are too long to tell here, but certain aspects of it are pertinent. The boy proved to be entirely normal, well above the average in intelligence and social background. His father, a keen business man, had concentrated so much on money-making that he knew little of his son's inner world. Nor did the mother whose time was much given to social life. Constant association with older boys who dwelt on their sex experiences, real or imaginary, had stimulated this boy's curiosity. Though precocious intellectually, he was too immature to realize either the gravity of his act with its criminal implications or the injury to the other child involved. The circumstances of the episode, it was learned, were not wholly those of attack, the little girl having participated in the experiment until she became frightened.

A conference with the parents of both children took the place of the customary court hearing. The little girl did not appear at any time, effort being made by all concerned

to minimize the effect of the experience on her. The two fathers, unusual men it must be admitted, discussed without rancor the problem involved, the father of the boy readily agreeing that while succeeding in business he had failed his son at a vital point in the boy's development. These two fathers carried their interest beyond the immediate situation and left the probation office to lunch together and discuss the possibility of a sex-hygiene program in the public schools.

At a later hearing for further consideration of the boy's case the school board was represented. Unfortunately, hasty action had been taken by the school authorities on recommendation of the complaining officer and the boy had been summarily expelled. A transfer to another school was agreed upon with a period of informal supervision by the probation officer. As the parents of both children had awakened to their responsibility nothing further seemed called for in the particular case.

The investigation revealed, however, a little clique of sex experimenters in the school, a group situation calling for immediate attention. This was a school problem which could not be met by the expulsion of the boy who happened to be caught. What appeared to the arresting officer as the terrible sex crime of one perverted youth proved on inquiry to be something quite different. Without going too deeply into the local school situation as revealed in this case, we can clearly see questions of educational and social practice involving both the school and juvenile court—questions of jurisdiction, of integration of function, of practical working relationships.

If we could look forward as competently as we have learned to look backward in tracing the progress of the individual criminal, we could go into any schoolroom today and with little hesitation pick out the children who in a decade or so will inhabit our prisons and penitentiaries. We could choose them almost by rule of thumb, checking off as good prospects the habitual truants, the "incorrigibles," the educational misfits. With a few hints from the

teacher concerning behavior we might even hazard a fair guess as to the form of each delinquency career. Here they are, already recognizable as troublesome problems, often aggravated ones.

We can get a "close-up" of many of these future inmates of our penal institutions by following them from the school into the juvenile court. Most children appearing in court are of school age, and most of them are already familiar trouble makers. Though the particular offense which is the occasion for the child's presence in court may not have occurred within the time and place jurisdiction of the school, it is almost invariably true that the boy or girl is already "an old case" to the teacher.

These children, not abnormal, not criminal types, not "born that way"—we have had to discard these convenient designations as psychologically untenable—these children are all simply *learning to be "bad,"* learning it in school as well as out of school, in the street, and even in the home. Sometimes we overlook the fact that learning is a continuous process, ceaselessly active, going on in some direction all the time with every child. It is all a part of the child's adjustment to his environment, his attempt to adapt himself to his circumstances to secure maximum satisfaction for himself. Viewed in this light delinquency is as truly the outcome of *natural processes of learning* as is the behavior which conforms to social requirements. It is simply the result of many factors operating in the child's life, to all of which he has reacted normally. Preventing delinquency, preventing crime, thus resolves itself into guiding the learning process, meeting the personality needs of the child as he grows. This view at once enlarges our concept of education and gives the school a responsibility which is a close second to that of the home.

But what, in fact, are the limits of school jurisdiction, or indeed of juvenile-court jurisdiction? Our ideas are changing so fast we can hardly keep up with them. The juvenile court began as a social agency, removing the delinquent child from the contaminating sphere of the adult

criminal court. Very soon its educational objective became apparent. Retraining, not punishment, was its avowed method of correction. The school is more recently becoming recognized as a social agency, even as a caseworking agency where it has visiting teachers. This is added to its academic function and is part of the enlarged interpretation of the place of the school in the community.

Do these two agencies, then, overlap in handling the delinquent child, or in preventing him from becoming delinquent? Is their approach to an identical goal sufficiently differentiated? Can we perhaps go all the way with the extremists who predict that the program of the juvenile court will ultimately be absorbed by the school? Here are problems of immediate practical import as well as of more remote theoretical significance.

The juvenile court after more than thirty years of development is still in an experimental period. Irregular in growth, uneven in standards, varying widely in function, method, and jurisdiction, the juvenile court remains in an empirical stage. Soundly conceived in the idea of the parental rather than the punitive attitude of the State towards its wayward children, it rapidly developed its caseworking function, following the path towards standardization already marked out in other fields of casework. Two diverging tendencies in the juvenile court early became evident and have continued to the present. First there was the impulse to make the court a child-caring agency in a broad way, absorbing in its widening scope both dependency and delinquency, and, in addition, protective and preventive functions—including, indeed, the entire field of child care and protection. Part of this spread was perhaps due to the fact that the juvenile court was organized in a pioneer period before casework in the children's field was clearly defined.

The other tendency is to restrict the case area of the juvenile court, to delegate preventive work and even treatment programs so far as possible to other organizations, public and private; to use the court as highly specialized

machinery, geared to adjust the more advanced and complex cases of delinquency. This restriction does not in any way diminish the importance of the juvenile court and its probation service—quite the contrary, as it makes possible more intensive work of higher standard, instead of an extensive program necessarily superficial because of inadequate staff and facilities.

As a social agency the juvenile court suffers from a structural handicap. It is and in its very constitution must remain a *court of law*, its child clients coming not of their own volition but by compulsion, for the most part because of some overt act which has necessitated such a course. No matter how we try to modify or to ignore this aspect of the court, no matter how completely socialized in viewpoint and methods the individual court may be, there still remains the framework of its legalistic origin. Decisions, judicial in character, must be constantly made, decisions with the authority and full force of the law behind the opinion of the judge. No other agency, public or private, can, for instance, commit a child to a correctional institution, or without the consent of his parents place him in a foster home. This judicial function could never be absorbed by the school unless the school were metamorphosed into a court with all the attendant prerogatives. We are increasingly apt to regard the court as purely a social agency, and on the administrative side progress can continue unchecked. But the goal can never actually be reached, because the very foundation of the court prohibits this. Perhaps we might logically emphasize this legal function and authority as a working asset rather than a handicap if the court field is sufficiently specialized.

The school as a social agency is unhampered by this inherent difficulty. Its approach to child training and retraining is more natural, more spontaneous. Constant contact with the growing child gives opportunity for observation, for understanding, that is possible to no other agency. As our concept of education expands and the school takes on enlarged functions in guiding the develop-

ment of the child's personality, we accept as a matter of course such additions to the school program as special classes, special schools with facilities for individual supervision, attendance departments with socialized approach to the question of truancy, visiting teachers and school counselors as social caseworkers with a foundation of teaching experience, and psychiatric clinics equipped for highly specialized analysis and treatment of particular cases.

How far the school can go in its handling of delinquency problems is not as yet determined. Some practical limitations are immediately evident. Vacation periods are an interruption to contact and to jurisdiction; some offenses occur which are quite unrelated to school life; some children no longer of school age are still within the age limit of the juvenile court; others are in private schools with standards of social responsibility far below that of the public schools. The absence of authority to make judicial decisions, previously mentioned, is another limitation, though an acceptable one as the school presumably should not be converted into a court. Cases calling for legal decision are clearly enough among those which should be referred to the juvenile court.

How can a sound practical relationship between the court and the school be achieved? What working policies have been tried by various communities cognizant of the need? How will the path of coöperation be marked out in the future?

If, in every community, the juvenile court and the school were equally progressive and well equipped, a policy plan would be relatively simple. But most frequently we find one considerably in advance of the other. They may be so far apart that they hardly speak the same language. An obligation then rests on the more enlightened agency to stimulate community interest in the needs of the other so that changes may be made.

Mutual understanding is a prerequisite for coöperation. All too frequently there is a kind of chronic irritation be-

tween the school and the court, sometimes flaring up into open antagonism and bitterness. Each is sharply critical, often without sufficient understanding of the point of view, the working equipment, or the difficulties of the other. The school people may complain that the court fails to back up their authority in attendance cases, fails even to enforce the law on this point. The court and probation staff may retaliate that the school is not attending to its own problems but falling back on the legal power of the court. A teacher, worn to exasperation in a case where she finds her authority challenged, may threaten a boy with commitment to the industrial school. If then the case comes into court and the judge simply places the boy on probation she feels that the child is not being punished sufficiently, that the court has failed to uphold her. She has been seeing the court as a disciplinary weapon for the school.

In this connection we might quote from a letter addressed by a progressive school superintendent to the principals in a large city:

The juvenile court is not an adjunct of the Board of Education in the matter of disciplining children who are school problems, and the court is unwilling to accept cases until the school has exhausted its own resources. . . . It is the function of the juvenile court solely to decide upon the treatment of each case. Neither should court action be used as a threat.

Another school executive in a similar announcement to his staff says:

The basis of this relationship is the assumption that the responsibility for solution of all problems occurring within the jurisdiction of the school belongs to the school itself, and that so far as it has resources for study and for developing and applying remedial measures these resources should be exhausted before referring cases to outside agencies.

Surprising ignorance on the part of each group as to the aims and function of the other is often evident. Sometimes the school is completely ignored in a court case. Teacher and principal may even be unaware of the fact that the child has appeared in court. The probation officer has not sought information and assistance from the school in his

investigation, nor has he planned to work with the school if the child is placed on probation. This is, of course, evidence of very poor probation work, but it may also reflect a general lack of understanding on the part of the court staff of what the school is trying to do in delinquency cases. There are, however, situations in which the attitude of the school officers towards a delinquent child whose case comes into court is such that they cannot be included in plans for his rehabilitation.

In one city in which visiting-teacher service was limited to four schools, inquiry revealed that the members of the probation staff were not sure which schools these were. This discovery marked the beginning of a program of mutual education by informal conferences and luncheon meetings. A juvenile judge may be so reactionary that he interprets the work of the visiting teacher as just going through useless motions, and sentimentalizing when stern action is called for. On the other hand, the technique of the probation officer may be equally subject to misinterpretation by the teacher who has no patience with it. Every teacher should understand the fundamental principles underlying juvenile-court practice even though in her own community the court may not be a successful example of the theory. Similarly, every probation officer should have as background information some knowledge of what schools **all over the country** are doing to meet the needs of the unadjusted child, although the schools with which he has to work may have no social or psychological service.

Coöperative plans between school and court frequently emphasize truancy cases, since truancy is so frequently a symptom of beginning delinquency. We cannot, of course, safely assume that we have a homogeneous group in truancy cases, for they are as varied in nature and cause as any other examples of delinquent behavior. A child's parents often have an attitude towards education which may be the core of the difficulty (a situation where court action is most often necessary). There may be maladjustment in school, the child running away from a curriculum

which has nothing to offer him. Truancy may be complicated with other behavior problems in varying mixtures or it may be relatively simple in its impulse. Sometimes the inflexibility of the school attendance law with its arbitrary age limit is itself a factor. In fact, there are as many causes or combinations of causes for truancy as there are truant children.

In a Western city it is part of the daily routine of the probation officer to receive a report by telephone from the attendance department giving a list of aggravated cases of absence. He then simply puts on his hat and sets forth to remedy matters. There is no coördinated plan between the two agencies, no assurance of thorough social investigation by either one, and no consistent policy in regard to court action or follow-up. The result is an increasing dissatisfaction and disorganization. In another city, the school complains, and rightly, that the court has taken attendance cases out of their hands entirely after they come before the judge. The probation officer supervises all such cases, permitting no "interference" from the school. The situation is all the more unsatisfactory as the probation staff is inadequate for such a load. These uncoördinated plans, if they can be called such, result from lack of real coöperative effort, and are in direct contrast with the increasingly accepted doctrine of the basic responsibility of the school.

A policy which has worked well in one city is based on this principle. It is the plan of a man who has had administrative experience in both the school and the juvenile-court field. We quote his statement in brief:

When the school problem child is brought to the juvenile court, let the school present its case to the court. If the child is adjudged guilty let him be placed on probation just as at present, but on probation to the attendance department giving the latter full control of supervision and full responsibility for getting results. If the investigation is adequate (and no other should be accepted) and the plans of treatment and supervision show intelligence and sufficient intensiveness (and the judge should tolerate no other) then we have placed the responsibility for adjusting its own problems on the school

where in my opinion it belongs. If the child must be returned to court despite the efforts of an efficient attendance and visiting-teacher department, then the court should coöperate by following the recommendations presented by the school.

In several cities, bureaus or departments have been created within the school system to deal with the problem from the inside and to coöperate with other agencies. In one city, where a visiting-teacher service is as yet something to be hoped for, such a child-welfare department was developed with a clear-cut procedure, following a conference with the probation department. The first responsibility for truancy or other delinquency is, in this plan, on the school which the child is attending, and investigation is the first step in adjustment. To quote the school bulletin:

Try as far as possible to remove the cause of the trouble. Truancy in its first stages needs corrective rather than punitive measures. Every teacher and principal should give careful attention to absences for it is in these early beginnings that truancy takes root.

Under this plan the case may later be referred to the child-welfare department where attempts will again be made to adjust it without court action. If it then becomes necessary to refer the case to the court, the action is initiated in this department which is also the instrument of contact with all other social agencies. Provision is made for active coöperation in cases of delinquency arising out of the jurisdiction of the school. To quote the bulletin again:

The court recognizes the school as one of the most vital factors in the life of the juvenile, therefore the court plans to consult the teachers in formulating a constructive program for the youth who makes an unfortunate mistake.

Another school system has a similar department. No principal is permitted to expel a child. Instead, the child is referred to this bureau which makes adjustment in many cases so that court action becomes unnecessary. One school system has a working agreement with the court in accordance with which the visiting teacher after making every effort to work out the situation without court action prepares a "court case report" which goes to the supervisor of visiting teachers. At this point there is a preliminary

conference between the supervisor, the visiting teacher, and the principal before the case is finally referred to the court. Even then it is first given an informal hearing before the chief probation officer.

An extension of the special-department idea is the council or conference which includes other agencies besides the school and the juvenile court, notably the police department. This takes us into the field of coöperation of all social forces in community work for the prevention of delinquency—a vital phase of the subject, but one which we cannot include in this discussion. Much can be done, however, in any community by united action in a program developing recreation or bettering social conditions so that indirectly at least the load of correctional work will be lightened. One such group in which the court and the school participated financed a recreational program in one of the schools during the evening hours, a program which was conspicuously effective in taking off the street in a bad neighborhood idle boys who had just passed the school-age limit.

Widespread interest in this subject of division of responsibility between school and court is reflected in the Committee on Relationships between the School and the Juvenile Court of the National Probation Association. This committee which is of national scope in its membership is made up of leaders in both the school and court fields. The National Education Association, the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, and the United States Commissioner of Education are represented. The committee is gathering and disseminating information among its members, and hopes to enlarge its work to include research studies in the field. A session of the annual conference of the National Probation Association in 1932 was devoted to the subject of school-court relationships.

With such extensive and critical interest in the checking of delinquency by the coöperative effort of the school and the juvenile court, we have an encouraging prospect before us. In such plans as we have sketched, two great forces

working together intelligently are following a new social trail. The old idea of education was a group idea, offering every child the same intellectual nourishment regardless of his ability to assimilate it and convert it to his use. Similarly, the old idea of justice for the delinquent—not wholly outmoded it must be confessed—was to treat all offenders alike, to prescribe measure for measure the same penalty for the same offense. The new concepts of education and of justice are based on a more rounded understanding of the individual. The new goal for each is the reverse of the old. True education and true justice both challenge us to see each child as a whole personality, to treat each child differently according to his needs.

THE MONTEFIORE SCHOOL, AN EXPERIMENT IN ADJUSTMENT

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Cases of hideous crime by youthful offenders have shocked the nation in recent months and have caused much discussion as to care of juvenile delinquents and ways of preventing delinquency. In all discussions truancy is cited as a cause or first step and the prevention of truancy an objective to be reached before delinquency can be prevented or overcome.

The Montefiore School in Chicago was opened four years ago for the study and treatment of boys who are unadjusted in regular schools, therefore truant and incorrigible and well started on the road to delinquency. Studies at this and the Moseley, a similar school opened three years ago, are demonstrating the fact that truancy is but a symptom of one or more underlying causes. The removal of these causes, giving the boy response, recognition, and most of all security, changes his attitudes and habits and makes him a regular school attendant.

The two schools serve about 200 elementary, junior-high, and parochial schools, their combined area covering two

thirds of the city. Boys are sent without court action upon the request of the principal with the approval of the district superintendent. The minimum time of stay is one year, unless the boy is graduated from the eighth grade in a shorter time.

The objectives set up for the school were physical and mental health, cleanliness of body, mind, and speech, courtesy, and the fundamentals of education.

Upon entrance a boy is placed in a receiving room where he remains for a week or ten days during which time he is given complete physical and psychological examinations and is observed by the teacher in charge of the room. As soon as possible he is placed with a group in which he seems to fit. The factors considered in this placement are: (1) age, (2) mental age, (3) intelligence quotient, (4) educational achievements, (5) mechanical aptitudes, (6) educational disabilities, (7) interest in drawing—free hand, (8) interest in mechanical drawing, (9) personality characteristics.

Also placement is discussed with the boy and his own suggestions are considered and frequently tried. The grading is very elastic for no hard or fast rule prevents a replacement whenever it seems advisable.

The principal of the school, Mr. Edward H. Stullken, distinguishes four types of problem boys. First, many of the boys may be classified as problem cases because of their mental retardation. Approximately one half of the pupils enrolled are unable to compete in the ordinary type of intellectual work required in a regular school. The median I.Q. for the school is 80; but since many pupils have language and reading disabilities, no doubt the per cent of intelligence would be somewhat higher if strictly nonverbal tests were employed. The average amount of retardation in school work is three years.

Second, many of the cases are boys whose mental abilities and educational achievements are very irregular. Their ability in reading is sometimes retarded three or four years while their mechanical ability may be accelerated as much or more. They have become problems in school because

of their uneven development. About 15 per cent of the boys belong to this group.

Third, nearly all of the boys present problems arising from their social surroundings. Many of these come from foreign homes. Polish, Italian, and Negro make up 60 per cent of all boys enrolled in the Montefiore School. Many of the social problems arise from broken home situations. Over 80 per cent of the boys come from homes classified by a social survey as poor or very poor. Many of them live under very poor conditions, residing in the so-called deteriorating areas of the city.

Fourth, many of the boys are problems because of their physical condition. The doctor's examinations revealed an average of more than four physical defects per boy and a dental survey showed that 93 per cent of the boys were in need of dental care.

The building is equipped with shops sufficient to care for the boys for approximately half their time, and the attention and enthusiasm with which they work makes a visit to the shops a real joy. If you are fortunate enough to enter the wood shop at the right time you may see many useful articles of furniture which the boys have made. They are so keen to take their products home that it is difficult to find finished articles in the shop. The combined electrical sheet metal shop is a place of great activity. The boys are so busy that they haven't time even to look up when visitors enter. Work in the mechanical-drawing room would do credit to any boy of the same age. In the weaving room boys lacking ability to do other shopwork make rugs and mats of various kinds, with the privilege of taking home every third article they make. The science room has become a place of tremendous interest to which the boys bring specimens of all kinds.

The library contains about a thousand books received from the public library and boys are given two or three periods a week for free reading. The individual interests of the boys are given special attention, hobbies are encouraged, and many projects are worked out. A "Book

Travel" project has resulted in a demand for fiction, geographies, histories, and many maps and pamphlets. The report of one boy on his reading shows a variety of interests. "I have read *Three Pigs*, *Robinson Crusoe*, the Encyclopedia, and *Popular Mechanics*."

Music, dramatics, and art all contribute to the happiness and development of the boys. Many assemblies are held and are of distinct educational value.

The recreational period is most important. Until taught to do so the boys do not know how to coöperate in playing with others. They stand about, then when they are brought into the group are apt to cheat and be anything but good sports. A variety of games has been provided for indoor recreation and thanks to the depression and a talented teacher some very clever games have been made by the boys themselves. The names of the champions of chess, checkers, horseshoe, and other games are written on the blackboard interspersed with admonitions which the boys see constantly:

When you play a game always wish and try to win, otherwise your opponent will have no fun, but never wish to win so much that you cannot be happy without winning.—Henry van Dyke

A good sport is one who does not cheat, does not quit, does not lose his temper though wronged.

A boy one day pointed to this last and said, "That's me." These quotations may seem to an adult to be of doubtful value, but have proved to have a real influence upon the boys in learning group action.

Since the boys are retarded from one to four years, much emphasis is placed on academic work on which they spend approximately half their time, all with one teacher. Every room is equipped with a file containing a folder for each boy in which is kept the written work from the time of entrance. By various devices the teacher makes it possible for the boy to watch his work and to see his improvement day by day by comparison with what he did when he came in. A reading table in each room gives the boys opportunity for free reading in odd moments.

Many boys have reading disabilities, and definite remedial work in reading is carried on by a teacher who worked with Dr. Marion Monroe, until recently with the Institute for Juvenile Research. The boys become keenly alive to their own reading defects and anxiously watch the results of tests given. The psychologist reports that at the conclusion of a test the boy asks anxiously, "How much gain have I made?" and, "When may I have another test?" When boys become interested in their own improvement the battle is half won.

A teacher for corrective speech comes twice a week and last year worked with 122 boys. Educators are coming to recognize more and more what a handicap defective speech is. It not only stands in the way of business success, but results in many personality difficulties. It was found that one Montefiore boy, with defective speech, was truant the day after he entered kindergarten.

Excursions are made to places of interest in the city, places for the most part never visited before by the boys. It is gratifying then to hear that after this first visit the boys often pilot their families and friends to the Field Museum, Art Institute, or parks and forest preserves.

Since the success of any school depends largely upon the principal and teachers, they are carefully selected for their understanding of boys and for their ability to cope with those who are considered problems. A writer in an educational magazine made this statement, "All teachers recognize the enormous variation in the intellectual ability of their pupils. All do not understand the emotional variations which accompany these intellectual variations." The teachers in the Montefiore School must and do take cognizance of these emotional variations in their handling of situations. The attitude of the teacher after a day in which there had been a violent emotional outbreak by a boy in her room illustrates this sympathetic understanding. When the principal said to her that he hoped she was not discouraged she replied, "Certainly not! I regard that as I would a poor lesson in geography. We didn't do very

well today. Let us hope that tomorrow we shall do better." It was interesting months later to hear the boy who had caused the trouble remark: "Do you remember how silly I was when I first came to this school?"

The third reason given for unadjustment was the home situation, 80 per cent coming from very poor homes. Last year an average of 150 boys were given luncheon daily, many eating their only meal at school. The present depression adds greatly to the difficulties of the school in trying to compensate for deficiencies in home and community.

Corrections of physical defects are begun as soon as the boy enters. A well-equipped dentist's office is maintained by the school for the dentist provided by the Board of Health. Two and one half visiting teachers do casework for the school and obtain as many corrections as possible. Although physical handicaps cannot be considered as the entire cause of school unadjustment, results obtained from the boys at the Montefiore School indicate that correction of defects has much to do with restoration of mental and emotional stability.

The discovery of the irregular development of the boys shows the need of expert diagnosis and treatment. Edward, whose chronological age is 13 years, 11 months, has an arithmetic age of 10 years, 5 months, a social age of 15 years, and a mechanical age of 19 years. First grade in reading, fifth in arithmetic, tenth in social development, and an adult in mechanical ability—who could blame Edward for finding his school life in fifth grade unbearable?

The study of the lowest mental cases should be an important contribution to education. In the special room a new type of curriculum and material have been developed and will be available for use by teachers of special rooms and elementary grades. If Featherstone is correct when he says, "Most authorities agree that these persons are not a different type but rather variants in degree of one type which includes all persons of whatever mental capacity,"¹

¹William Featherstone, *The Curriculum of the Special Class* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1932).

this material will be very valuable, for all teachers have in their care children of low ability or slow development.

Are the objectives being attained? Some of the results seem to indicate that they are, partially at least.

In 1928 and 1929, 2,008 parental school petitions were received from the entire city. During 1929 and 1930, after the opening of the Montefiore School, this number was reduced to 754 petitions; in 1931-1932, only 520 cases were called to the attention of the juvenile court.

The attendance of these former truants last year, 1932, was 93 per cent compared with the city average of 94.7 per cent.

Previous to the opening of the Montefiore School there was a waiting list of from 100 to 200 boys to be taken to the juvenile court. There is now no waiting list.

Formerly a boy who violated his parole from the Parental School was out for weeks or months, usually on the street before he could be returned. There is now no waiting list of violators of parole from the Parental School.

All court work has been taken from the principals, teachers, and truant officers of the 200 schools contributing to the Montefiore and Moseley Schools. This means that time formerly spent by principals, teachers, and truant officers in preparing and serving papers and in appearing in court has been saved for preventive work with other pupils.

There were 1,374 boys saved from a court experience and 1,493 have been saved a Parental School experience.

There were 5,600 dental operations completed and 1,000 boys were given complete physical examinations.

There were 310 boys graduated from the eighth grades in these two schools. These boys have gone out into the world with a feeling of success rather than failure.

There were 152 boys sent back to the elementary schools; 133 boys made good; 19 had to be returned. This small number of failures seems to show that the school is really able to change the attitude of the boys and enable them to fit into regular schools.

Besides these definite measurable results, there are many

intangible improvements. The carriage of the body, change in personal appearance, in courtesy, in the attitude of the boys towards their teachers, their work, their school, their homes, and the happiness apparent to even a casual visitor are all evidences of the changes wrought. A few quotations from reports of teachers indicate the attitude towards their work of those nearest the problem. The science teacher says:

Changing ideals and character growth have been evidenced in various ways during the year, such as:

1. Ready acceptance of higher standards of work
2. Desire for special project problems
3. Practical application of health lessons
4. General coöperativeness
5. High percentage of attendance and punctuality
6. Pride in personal appearance
7. Desire to become happy contributing members of their group

As yet we cannot measure the permanent results of our work, but accepting the belief that a child comes into the science class, not only to learn facts and to develop a faculty for doing things, but primarily to establish the right relations to his environment, we note many evidences of his ability to live with people in a happier and more acceptable way.

The art teacher writes:

There has been a noticeable improvement in the art work done by the boys of the Montefiore Special School in the past two years. They are no longer satisfied with crude work but discriminate between good work and that which is not so good. They are eager to do things and now that they have discovered their ability to draw and model, they are anxious to carry out their own ideas.

Many of the boys spend their leisure time in working different art problems at home. They bring these to school and it is interesting to see how carefully the other pupils study this work giving praise and corrective criticism. They often ask to take home a piece of work that has been finished and that particularly appeals to their fancy.

The teacher of physical education shares a great responsibility in the character building of the Montefiore boys:

There are certain procedures in the actual playing of a game which need specific interpretations. Most boys want to do the right thing but they are hazy as to what constitutes the right thing to do. The beginning and end of a contest

are not athletics. Athletics, not for the sake of athletics alone, but athletics to develop the spirit of fair play, good sportsmanship, and the ability to take defeat gracefully and manfully; to realize that victory is not won by luck but by hard work, and that great victories are only won by those with clean, healthy minds and bodies. It has been found that an awakened play instinct is a very effective way of breaking up an inferiority complex. When a boy once finds that he can hold his own in competitive play, his confidence and self-reliance develop accordingly. The results will be reflected in all phases of his work.

It is most gratifying to the school to watch the progress of the boy, after a period of five months or more, who was once callous, bold, and hard to all criticisms, blush as he is called to task for some mistake which he should have overcome. At least we know the boy is conscious of what is right or wrong.

The outstanding accomplishment of Montefiore is the improvement in pupil conduct which is in evidence all about us. Our pupils have shown a marked improvement in scholarship; the attendance has grown better; but our outstanding achievement has been in character development. It is our greatest achievement.

The psychiatrist writes:

The normal spontaneous adjustment of the great majority of the children at Montefiore is evidence that the school as constituted effects the practical task of mental-hygiene treatment. Such spontaneous adjustment is a challenge not only to the system of the regular schools, but also the mental hygienists themselves who have been, perhaps, too much concerned about the individual, and certainly too little concerned with the defects in our system of living.

In years gone by boys of the Montefiore type would have been tolerated in school for a time and then expelled or sent to a reformatory. Some would have reformed but the large part returned to their homes and gangs would have been recidivists and have progressed step by step through a life of crime. If boys can have their habits and attitudes changed while returning to their homes at night and meeting their old friends, the change is much more apt to be permanent. The special schools, the Montefiore and Moseley, make no extravagant claims to success. Results obtained do seem to point the way for the prevention of delinquency by proper study and treatment of problem boys who are often merely boys with problems.

AN APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY THROUGH THE CASE- WORKER IN THE SCHOOL

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Dark as may be the picture presented by the statistics of crime, the newspaper reports of gangs utterly and successfully defiant of the law, the daring murders and kidnappings in recent times, to say nothing of exposures of political graft and large-scale swindling, we may still find a gleam of hope in certain other facts not so well advertised. We know, for example, that although thousands of homeless boys are wandering over the country, camping in small or large groups in the jungles, stealing rides on trains, or begging them from kindly automobile drivers, no one seems afraid of them; we hear almost no tales of crime or violence and very little of minor delinquency among them.¹ Theirs is rather an economic and industrial problem.

During the summer of 1932, Dr. J. B. Maller, of Columbia University, completed a survey of the records of the past thirty years of the Children's Court of New York City. He found that, in the face of the doubling of New York's population in that time, delinquents (known to the Court) among children of court age had decreased in number from 12.1 to 5.9 for every 1,000. This he attributes largely to the increase in number of social, religious, and recreational centers, an attempt to prevent rather than cure delinquent tendencies, better adjustment of foreign born to conditions in this country, and better understanding and treatment of the "bad boy." He does not specifically mention the schools in this list. And yet I venture to assert that the change in educational philosophy and method since 1900, with its emphasis on understanding the individual and adjusting the school to fit his needs, has had some effect—and will have far more as time goes on, and as effort is more consciously directed to this problem of prevention.

¹"Boys on the Loose," *Survey Graphic*, September 1932.

Just what is a delinquent? Shall we say, briefly, that he is one whose behavior is openly defiant of social restriction? But why, one may ask, should any one choose to adopt a way of living which is so fraught with danger and discomfort?

The delinquent, whether he be the six-year-old who truants from kindergarten to wander the streets begging for pennies and stealing fruit from open stands, or the fifteen-year old who becomes involved in a sex escapade and cold-bloodedly murders the girl who shared it with him, is an individual who, trapped by his own discontent—by the fact that his urge to gratify his inner impulses is frustrated through the circumstances of his life—"rises forcibly against this frustration and goes into action." The biologists have no convincing answer to our question as to how specific a part heredity may play in determining the individual's choice of this way of meeting his problem. Even if they were able to help us to understand, that knowledge would be of little assistance to our knowing what to do about it. The sociologists have provided much valuable material on environmental influences and community organization for remedial work. But we must turn to the psychiatrists for help in understanding the mechanisms of personality development which give us some insight as to why certain individuals find that only by defiance of authority can they satisfy their inner needs. For the delinquent, like all the rest of us, is striving for satisfaction. He is trying to meet his immediate problem in the only way his education has taught him. Life is full of deprivations. The infant begins to meet them from the moment he enters the world. Early training is mostly concerned with control of native impulses, and upon the nature and degree of this control is built the type of reaction to similar situations which makes the total personality. In process of growing up, the normal individual learns to meet these situations by adopting some purposeful constructive activity which is in itself satisfying and which he hopes will lead to a desirable end. But the delinquent has never learned the lesson of deferring his gratifications.

He avoids coming to grips with the immediately unpleasant by accepting a substitute without consideration of the price to be paid. His early experiences have failed to give him two elements essential to adequate character formation—a disciplined will, and a pattern of behavior based upon sound ideals. He lies, steals, runs away, joins a gang, hates the one who has the things he desires and injures him or even sometimes kills him. Only through new emotional experiences can his personality be changed.

An approach to "character education" which is slowly making its way into the schools, fostered by the spread of mental-hygiene principles, is well expressed in the opening chapters of the *Character Education Year Book*, published in February 1932, by the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association. The emphasis is upon understanding rather than punishment, upon providing situations in the school set-up which will give an opportunity for satisfying experiences in fair play, consideration for others, yielding the gratification of immediate personal wishes to participation in plans for the well-being of the group. Leadership depends upon the teacher, but self-approval becomes gradually and consistently more desirable than approval from others.

In many schools in the country there is evidenced a recognition of the need of supplementing the classroom relationship of teacher and pupil by the appointment of a specially trained person, the visiting teacher, to whom may be referred for study and treatment pupils so seriously unadjusted that the usual classroom procedure does not help them. Prevention of delinquency is not the specific reason for employing a visiting teacher. The causes of delinquency are too varied and individual to supply factual support for this as an argument. No one can say that the boy who is retarded in reading because of some physical or emotional reason will eventually run away from his unhappy situation, and as a truant, defiant of the law, join a gang, break windows, steal, or whatnot—but we do know that it is on such a foundation that delinquency is often built. We know that in a study in 1928 of 251

adolescents over a period of six to eight years after their release from the truant school in New York City, 51 per cent had a later court record of delinquency, misdemeanor, or felony. The crime commission in this report recommends the establishment within the school system of clinics for study of children presenting behavior problems and revision of school curriculum to meet the needs of children of "defective mentality or emotional instability," and gives figures to substantiate their contention that the expense of this "individual method," great as it is, is less than the cost of crime to society per individual. But truancy per se cannot be treated. Only its causes may be removed by improving educational attitudes and methods and by applying the case method to those who fail to respond to that general treatment.

We may take as an illustration the case of a fourteen-year-old boy in the first year of junior high school, whose dissatisfaction with his life is manifested, not by truancy, but by stealing.

Frank was courteous and well conformed, liked by his teachers and his classmates, but he was uninterested in his lessons and at the end of the school year was failing in practically all subjects. At the same time, a critical episode arose in the schoolroom. Money was missing from the teacher's purse, and suspicion pointed to Frank. Once before during the term he was caught taking the bell from another boy's bicycle. His father was sent for—but no persuasion or show of authority could make Frank confess. The school counselor (the visiting teacher under another title) was called upon to help. Individual interviews with Frank and his father revealed some interesting facts, hitherto unknown to the school. Frank was the second of three children. The mother was never well after the birth of the third child and died when Frank was six years old. During her illness she was fretful with the children and at the same time over anxious. Elizabeth was in school, and Billy a baby, and it was on Frank that the burden of her irritability fell. Sent on errands to the neighboring store, he used pennies to buy candy and things he wanted. When this was discovered he was punished and prayed over in turn. After the mother's death the father's widowed sister and her six-year-old girl came to live with them. Comparisons were constantly made—always to Frank's disadvantage. Frank learned early that outward conformity left him free to pursue his own

way. At the age of ten he had a perfect attendance record at Sunday School, and was truant for six weeks from elementary school, spending the time with two other boys in a hut they had built on a vacant field, lunching on fruit and candy stolen from grocery stores in the vicinity. When discovered Frank was full of repentance and promised to do better. The episode was forgotten and never reported to the junior high school. At the beginning of Frank's first year in the latter school, different home arrangements had been made. The aunt and her child had moved away, and Elizabeth, now in the 9A grade, shared the housekeeping with her father. Frank was now free of the nagging disagreeable aunt, but the discipline of a conscientious but often absent father was left largely in the hands of the older sister whose only weapon was talebearing.

The counselor's first move was to arrange for a psychological examination. Frank was found to have an intelligence quotient of 130 and the principal agreed that if the boy would attend the summer school and do good work he would advance him a grade, instead of making him repeat the term, as he would naturally have done because of his failure. The father, eager for help and with a real love for the boy, accepted the counselor's suggestion of recognizing his need for independence, gave him a small allowance, let him take a Saturday job, arranged that he, rather than Elizabeth, should supervise him in home duties, and spent more time in companionship with him. For the first time Frank had the experience of being accepted and trusted, of knowing accord between his inner feeling and his outward conformity. No issue was made of his confessing to the theft of which he was accused—stealing money from the teacher's purse. Whether he was innocent or guilty, he derived no satisfaction from feeling that he had fooled the principal on the one hand, or had been unjustly considered guilty on the other. What advantage there may have been, in that situation, lay in the hands of the school authorities who did not commit themselves. To a boy of Frank's type, this was an important factor in increasing his respect for them. There were hard times. He needed help and assurance—but a sympathetic teacher and a counselor always ready to listen made it possible for him to build up slowly a self-esteem which aided his naturally fine intelligence so that he made good progress in school and when last heard from was a successful member of the graduating class in senior high school.

Learning to take the full responsibility for one's acts is one of the essential lessons in growing up. That Frank had been as conforming as he had, meant really only an evasion of this responsibility. Until his experience had brought him satisfaction in his relationships with the counselor and with

his father, he had nothing constructive to build upon. In order to learn to trust others, he must first be trusted. The counselor's respect for his personality and confidence in his desire and ability to make good gave him a sense of security in relation to adults, hitherto unknown to him. But she recognized his need to feel this also in his family situation, and directed her effort to developing and maintaining a real understanding between him and his father.

The case of Charles offers quite a different picture of the behavior reaction of a child to an unsatisfied emotional need. A disciplined will is not a conscious quality purposefully developed by the individual in himself or through the admonition of others, as the old morality would have had us believe, but a growth through experience of satisfaction in self-control rather than in that imposed from outside. It develops step by step with the child's training in direct relation to the emotional meaning of that training.

Charles, eleven years old, was referred to the school counselor because he was failing in school work, was constantly disorderly and disobedient in the classroom, and had run away from home with two very undesirable older boys, staying away several days. Charles was the youngest of nine children, five of whom were married and away from home. The father, aged 57, was alcoholic and sometimes violent. He was reported as indifferent about the children, but jealous regarding the mother's attention to them and suspicious of her. The mother was efficient and energetic, a good housekeeper, and extremely religious. Whipping and shaming were the methods of discipline applied in the home. During the first seven years of his life Charles had been constantly sick—whooping cough, mumps, boils, typhoid fever, influenza, and scarlet fever, all severe cases, followed each other in rapid succession. Even if the intelligence of the parents and the home conditions had made it possible, there was little opportunity for adequate training of a child so handicapped by illness. Accustomed from infancy to being the chief object of his mother's concern, he was quick tempered, nervous, easily excited, and disobedient and when disciplined fearful and sullen. His behavior took the very primitive form of getting satisfaction by petty revenge on the person who deprived him of having his own way in the gratification of any impulse. Although of average intelligence he was a year retarded in school. He was rather effeminate in appearance, was teased by other children, inclined to use his poor health as an alibi, but fond of bragging of how strong he was.

The counselor's introduction to Charles was immediately following his runaway. He knew that she had had a long talk with his mother and the principal and was naturally suspicious of her interest. Here was just another person who was going to make him over. Before anything else could be done it was necessary to win his liking and confidence. This she quickly succeeded in doing by avoiding talking of the unpleasant subject, concentrating instead on Boy Scouts of which he was already a member, and agreeing to talk over with his mother the question of making a suit from an old one of his sister's. Charles's discontent came out clearly in this interview—the Boy Scout troop was "too rough," his Sunday School teacher was "too crabby," he didn't like school "because there is too much work." He showed decided emotional reaction over his sisters, who, he said, "hit me all the time, and call me sissy if I don't do what they tell me." Charles quickly took on the counselor in whom he found a completely new experience—a person who represented a benevolent authority which made no demands for emotional response from him, and offered him no protection from the punishment which inevitably followed from his misbehavior in school. He formed the habit of coming in almost daily—for help in arithmetic—to talk about the Big Brothers Club, and the new bicycle, and his swimming lessons. New associations were formed with boys from other neighborhoods. A new ideal of manhood as represented in the leader of the club replaced the unsatisfying one of the father. Moved by the desire to win the approval of the leader and the counselor, Charles began slowly to develop some little self-restraint. He even went voluntarily to the dentist, his school work improved, his mother and sisters commented on the change.

Contact with Charles lasted for almost two years. It was troubling to see how he changed with each change of teachers. Where there was patience and firmness and a willingness to give attention and praise, he did well, but towards the exacting teacher he always responded with the feeling that he was especially "picked on" and took his revenge in coming late and dirty to school, tripping and striking children or making faces to win attention. During the one term where this happened most conspicuously, he also went back to smoking cigarettes and staying out very late at night. It took him a long time to learn that the only way to avoid unpleasant consequences was to accept social restrictions and make the best of it. Perhaps that was inevitable, under the physical and emotional handicaps of his early training. The gradual progress in self-control, in building an ideal for himself, was nevertheless a real growth and shows what may be done, if conditions make consistency possible. The counselor had to bear the burden of the mother's anxiety, of the teacher's impatience, and

of Charles's resentment of discipline. Her patience and interest in him had to be unflagging, but her firmness in refusing to protect him from the consequences of his behavior had to be equally so.

These cases have been deliberately chosen as illustrative of the emotional reëducation made possible in the school by the relationship of the counselor to teacher, parent, and, most important of all, to the child himself. Such treatment should have the active coöperation of all three. The teacher's responsibility for the whole group and for bringing the individual into adjustment with it makes it unwise if not impossible to single out one child for such an intensive special relationship. Even the counselor must beware of creating too personal a bond for fear that it may become dependency. Movement and growth will come only from the development of an inner discipline.

The caseworker in the school finds it necessary to depend upon many resources outside as well as within the school.

In a neighborhood of almost entirely foreign-speaking population of day laborers, where there was no recreation center or settlement within a radius of many squares, where vacant lots and empty freight cars were the only possible play places, the caseworker felt blocked in doing constructive work with individual children until she had been able to persuade a playground association to supply afternoon and evening recreational equipment and leadership, while the Board of Public Education furnished the rooms as well as heat, light, and janitor service. Along with this came parents' meetings with interpreters, afternoon classes in English, and gradual community understanding and confidence in the school. Teachers and principal participated in parties which featured the national customs of the guests and so was developed a community spirit in which the case worker found concrete assistance.

In conclusion I should like to submit the following more or less dogmatic suggestions.

1. The school's function should be much more one of *pre*vention than of remedy.
2. The atmosphere of the school and its curriculum may work towards this through providing purposeful activity suitable to the intellectual and emotional development of pupils, and a pleasant workmanlike participation of teacher and pupil in projects of common interest.

3. Understanding of and consideration for each pupil's stage of physical, intellectual, and emotional maturity should be a part of each teacher's professional task.

4. In the discipline of the school, the necessary punishment of offenses should be directed by understanding of the meaning of the unsatisfactory behavior to the individual, and accompanied by an effort to supply more satisfying experiences.

5. Classroom teacher and visiting teacher should share equally though in different terms the responsibility for reëducation of unadjusted children.

a) The classroom teacher's functions are to recognize constant uneasiness and discontent as symptoms of emotional tension which call for special study and to provide activities and satisfactions within the classroom, as a necessary supplement to effective treatment.

b) The visiting teacher on the basis of her interpretation of the situation as she finds it should offer to parent or teacher helpful suggestions and at the same time establish a relationship with the pupil which will make possible the acceptance of new standards of behavior and a new respect for himself.

IS AN INDEX TO THE JOURNAL ESSENTIAL TO YOU?

It has occurred to the editors of *THE JOURNAL* that, since its issues are all indexed in the Wilson Education Index and in Public Affairs Information Service, the index for this year, usually distributed with the May issue, might be dropped. The chief motive would be economy. We know, however, that neither of the Indexes mentioned may be available to our many library subscribers. We do not want to lessen efficiency in any way. Will you please let us know what you think about it?

The Editors

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JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND CRIME PREVENTION

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The growing seriousness of the crime problem in the United States has focused the attention of the educated public from time to time upon the possibility of a more fundamental and more systematic attack upon the underlying causes of crime than has yet been attempted, and these later formulations of the problem of crime prevention and of basic crime-prevention programs are closely related to the whole problem of dealing with juvenile delinquency.

The groundwork for this type of attack has now been prepared through the acquisition of important knowledge as to the origins of crime made available through recent scientific studies:¹ first, that the origins of criminal careers are to be found in the social reactions of childhood and adolescence; and second, that the concentration of delinquents and criminals is to be found in typical, interstitial areas which are the characteristic breeding places of gangs, delinquency, and crime.²

These two outstanding generalizations, based as they are upon well-authenticated facts, clearly indicate the point of attack for a major crime-prevention program; namely, the behavior problems of childhood and adolescence and the malfunctioning of social institutions in the crime-producing areas. How may a practicable program of crime prevention which strikes in a basic way at underlying causes be formulated?

The problem is primarily one of dealing with social influences affecting predelinquents or potential delinquents in these areas of deterioration in such a way as to assure the development of wholesome personality and good citi-

¹See bibliography at end of Thrasher's, *The Gang*, fourth printing (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press 1933) under the captions: "Sociology of the Gang," "Materials for the Study of the Gang," "Ecology of the Gang," "Gang and Delinquency," and "Treatment of the Gang and Its Members"—especially titles by Shaw, Crime Commission of the State of New York, Farrell, Illinois Crime Survey, Landesco, Glueck, Thomas, National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, Lawes, Shulman, and Thrasher.

²Both these generalizations are well illustrated by the findings presented in Thrasher's *The Gang*.

zenship. It involves many factors and many techniques, but the fundamental problem is one of synthesis of all methods which are known to be essential so as to deal consistently and completely with the total situation in a given delinquency area. This involves an inescapable program of social planning which is clearly suggested by any careful sociological study.

Yet, criminologists, persons with legal training, educators, and recreational and social workers in general have failed to grasp the fundamental principle of crime prevention; viz., the necessity for a definitely organized and thoroughgoing preventive program in the local community from which the bulk of delinquents and criminals are produced. Apparently they have possessed in general neither the technical knowledge nor the inclination to enable them to promote the concentration of local responsibility, the coöperation of local agencies, and the integration of local services which are essential to such a program.

The gang is clearly a symptom of community disorganization.³ The gang, along with other personal and social factors in the interstitial (crime-producing) area, plays an important part in the demoralization of youth and the facilitation of delinquency and crime. The solution of the gang problem, however, is intimately and inextricably bound up with the whole question of crime prevention as applied to all factors contributing to delinquency in such an area.

From our own analysis of the gang and of juvenile delinquency in relation to crime in *The Gang*, as well as upon the basis of the results of more recent studies by the author and by Shaw, Landesco, Shulman, Glueck, and others, the essential elements of a crime-prevention program for a local community appear to be as follows:

- I. The general purpose: to achieve a comprehensive, systematic, and integrated social program for the incorporation of *all* children in the delinquency area, especially *all* the mal-adjusted and those likely to become delinquents, into activities, groups, and organizations providing for their leisure-time interests as well as all other normal needs.

³See also Thrasher, "The Gang as a Symptom of Community Disorganization," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, XI (1926), pp. 3-21, and John Landesco, "Crime and the Failure of Institutions in Chicago's Immigrant Areas," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, XXIII, (1932), pp. 238-248.

II. Means to the achievement of this purpose:

1. Concentration of responsibility for crime prevention for the local delinquency area in question (a problem of community organization)
2. Research to procure essential facts and keep them up-to-date as a basis for an initial and a progressively developing crime-prevention program
3. Utilization of services of and coöperation among all preventive agencies existing in the given community (a problem of community organization)
4. Application of the preventive program *systematically* to all children in the delinquency area of the local community
5. Creation of new agencies, if necessary, to supplement existing social organization when and at what points definite needs are discovered which cannot be met by existing facilities (a problem of community organization)

The nature of the program indicated in the above statement of the purpose of crime prevention (I) seems at first glance to contain no elements of novelty. And indeed its subsidiary techniques are the well-known services of the behavior and guidance clinic, the family caseworking agency, the recreational organization, the educational institution, etc. Yet such a program represents a radical departure from the methods of social work and community organization as now conceived. The elements of novelty, as contemplated here, which hold real promise of effective crime prevention, lie in the direction of *community reorganization* (based upon research), rather than the proposal primarily of new methods of dealing with children either individually or in groups. The new approach is indicated in the five methods of procedure set forth above as means to the achievement of the general purpose of crime prevention. Curiously enough not one of the elements in this five-point program has been put into effective operation in a crime-producing area, except in certain exceptional instances to be noted below.

The cardinal first step in crime prevention is concentration of responsibility for a definite and systematic program in a definite and adequate social instrumentality which will be charged with crime prevention as its sole function. It is obvious that no traditional social agency as now constituted is fitted for such a task. Yet it is equally clear that many existing social agencies must play important parts

in carrying out such a program. The instrumentality, therefore, which assumes this vital community function must be one which lends itself readily to securing the coöperation of all community institutions and organizations.

It has been suggested⁴ that the local council of social agencies serving the delinquency area for which the crime-prevention program is being formulated should logically assume this responsibility since such a council is representative of most of the agencies which must coöperate in putting such a program into practical operation. This could be accomplished through the creation of a committee or section of the council which would employ a qualified executive with a small but capable staff for performing the essential crime-prevention functions.

The following brief outline of a crime-prevention program for a local council of social agencies, based upon an actual community study, may be presented as an example:⁵

- I. Proposed organization of a citizenship section of the X.... Council of Social Agencies.
 1. To be known as citizenship section, emphasizing only positive aspects of the work and avoiding use of words "crime prevention"
 2. To be composed of representatives of various social agencies whose coöperation is essential to success of the program
 3. Small active executive committee to be chosen from the section
 4. Selection of qualified executive and adequate staff
- II. Extent and location of such a program
 1. Program to concentrate on definite area or areas characterized by high delinquency rates
 2. First steps to be considered exploratory and experimental
- III. Functions of citizenship program
 1. Research function
 - a) What data are necessary?
 - (1) Basic census data on all families in every block in area in question
 - (2) Recreational and other contacts of children

⁴Crime Commission of New York State, *Crime and the Community: A Study of Trends in Crime Prevention* (New York: J. B. Lyon Company, 1930).

⁵As a result of the author's studies of delinquency in a local area in New York City, he prepared such a crime-prevention program at the request of the local Council of Social Agencies. This was presented to the Council in the spring of 1931, but could not be developed at that time chiefly because of lack of funds for even a modest financing. During 1932, however, the crime-prevention program for this Council was again taken up by Harry M. Shulman, formerly research director of the New York State Crime Commission, in an effort to develop a practical community program.

- (3) Data basic to detection of potential delinquents—
from interviews and records of schools, social
agencies, police courts, etc.
- (4) Data on all demoralizing influences in area
- b) How can such data be collected?
 - (1) Family data on all cases contributed by all social
agencies (including schools) working in area
 - (2) Securing complete list of families with agency con-
tacts from Social-Service Exchange
 - (3) House-to-house canvass to obtain data on families
not represented by above
 - (4) Contribution of all data by social agencies where
a crime-prevention problem is indicated
 - (5) Contribution by agencies of data on community re-
sources and demoralizing influences
 - (6) Special investigations by staff
2. Function of clearance and exchange
 - a) Maintenance of continuing file of basic census data on
each social block, indicating removals of old fami-
lies and new data on incoming families
 - b) Case file for each block containing detailed histories
of families likely to produce delinquents and of
critical cases being given special attention or care
by staff
 - c) Continuing file on all demoralizing influences—per-
sons, groups, and institutions
3. The function of integrated services
 - a) Concentration upon children and young people, singly
or in groups (such as gangs), found not to be
reached or not effectively incorporated into existing
wholesome social structures
 - (1) Children in school who have problems outside of
school hours
 - (2) Children not in school and unemployed, or children
employed who have special adjustment problems
 - b) Integration of services of varied social agencies to
meet individual needs of individual problem children
or groups of children in which delinquency develops
(such as gangs), the program for each case to be
fitted to the needs of that case
 - c) In cases of failure by one agency or set of agencies,
a new alignment of services and a new plan
4. The casework function
Mobilization of casework agencies for specialized and
difficult cases
5. The function of promoting new or supplementary services
or agencies to deal with problems which cannot be
handled by existing facilities

It is not at all certain that an agency representative of
the local council of social agencies (within which local jeal-

ousies may be disruptive) is the best or only instrumentality for concentrating responsibility for crime prevention in a local community. An effective program of crime prevention, although limited in its scope, has been developed by the Bureau of Crime Prevention of the New York City Police Department. Under the leadership of Deputy Police Commissioner Henrietta Additon, a social worker of distinction, the Bureau has developed its work to high standards of excellence and has secured the active coöperation of practically all the preventive agencies of the community whose services it must use.

The Police Department's records of arrests of juveniles show 7,114 in 1930 and 6,322 in 1931, a decrease of 792 or 11 per cent in the two years of the Crime Prevention Bureau's service.

Its object is to cut off crime and suppress vice at their sources through the prevention of juvenile delinquency. This is accomplished through specially trained officers, men and women, who study environmental factors in the various neighborhoods of the city, and become personally acquainted with the boys and girls in those neighborhoods and their special needs. The Bureau works with all the agencies and clubs in the city who deal with boys and girls under 21 years of age, and with other welfare and health societies which are in a position to help in family adjustments and provide medical care. A large recreational program has been developed to furnish proper leisure-time occupation.⁶

In some communities the local council of social agencies may not be in a position to take the initiative in organizing a crime-prevention program or financing it. In others, no effective local council may exist. In such cases it is quite reasonable to suppose that any agency which has a fundamental stake in crime prevention, such as a recreational group, the public school, the juvenile court, or the police department, or a committee representing a combination of such agencies may take the initiative in developing a crime-prevention program in which the coöperation of all essential agencies can be enlisted. It has been suggested⁷ that the so-called "probation" committees, composed of volunteers working under the guidance of county probation officers in Illinois, might well be used as "crime-prevention

⁶"Crime Prevention in New York City," *Social Hygiene News*, VII (1932), p. 2.

⁷Maude G. Palmer, "Needed: Crime Prevention Committees," *Welfare Bulletin* (Illinois Department of Public Welfare), August 1932, p. 5.

committees." A Crime Prevention Committee, composed of officers of the Richmond Recreation Association, the judge of the juvenile court, and two assistant school superintendents, has functioned in the development of a crime-prevention program for that city. A committee of the National Probation Association⁸ is devoting itself to a study of the relations between the schools and the juvenile court with the possibility of developing a more adequate program of crime prevention under the joint leadership of these agencies. The public-school system in any community in the interest of the adequate performance of its own educational functions is in an especially strategic position to undertake, without fear or favor, the development of a crime-prevention program which shall enlist the interest and coöperation of all the social agencies of the community.⁹

We have discussed the first element in the five-point program of crime prevention; namely, the concentration of responsibility for the function of crime prevention. The second point is no less important: that the program must be based upon social research rather than the superficial type of survey often employed by social agencies. No adequate program can be formulated or carried on without definite knowledge of facts regarding the children of the area and their problems and the social influences which play upon them. With few exceptions¹⁰ social agencies do not know the communities to which they minister with any degree of thoroughness, and unfortunately they do not ordinarily keep their records in such a way as to enable them to evaluate their own work effectively. They know their own methods, but they are inclined to be "institutionally minded" and they find difficulty in visualizing the community and its problems as a whole and their own proper functions in the larger situation.¹¹

⁸Under the chairmanship of Dean Justin Miller of the Law School of Duke University. See the article by Marjorie Bell in this issue.

⁹As yet school authorities have not sensed the problem in any broad or comprehensive way.

¹⁰The Bowling Green Settlement of Lower Manhattan, New York City (now discontinued because of shifting population), presents a striking exception. This institution maintained a remarkable research department which was in possession of up-to-date data on all families in its area and on its relations to them at any given moment.

¹¹See Frederic M. Thrasher, "The Boys' Club Study of New York University" and other articles in special issue of *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, September 1932, dealing with the problem of social research as related to the evaluation of the work of institutions.

The social agencies often know certain phases of their community backgrounds very intimately and separate agencies see one problem or another very vividly. The point is, however, that there is no synthesis of essential knowledge without genuine research and that there can be no adequate basis for a thoroughgoing crime-prevention program without knowledge which is systematic, organized, and complete. This is particularly pertinent in dealing with the problem of delinquency, because it is just the child who is missed by the methods of the ordinary leisure-time program, or who drops out of the wholesome group or institution, or who is shunted from one agency to another without any consistent plan for his adjustment or attempt at follow-up who so often is the predelinquent or the candidate for a criminal career.

In one area of the Lower West Side of Manhattan in New York City, recreational workers connected with Greenwich House, a social settlement noted for its innovations in dealing with young people, came to believe that the "tough" boys were not utilizing the facilities of the settlement. This was corroborated by an important piece of research into the social changes of the area, which was under way at the time.¹² As a result, during 1931 and 1932 there was formulated and put into operation a block-recreation plan whose basic purpose was to develop wholesome spare-time activities in every block under adequate leadership by means of the establishment of block clubrooms and associated activities.¹³ This project as it has grown has developed records on all families in each of the blocks where clubrooms have been established. The program is designed to reach the potential delinquents in each block in a systematic way and is in effect a crime-prevention program, although it does not include all the essential points enumerated above. It necessarily depends, however, for its ultimate success upon data provided by continuing and systematic social research.

The third point in the crime-prevention program involves the integration of services of all appropriate agencies with reference to each individual case involving a child, a family, or a gang, and with reference controlling every demoralizing influence in the local community. This is well exemplified in the work of the Crime Prevention Bureau of New York city, which utilizes every resource of

¹²Under the direction of Dr. Caroline Ware.

¹³This project was sponsored by the Council of Lower West Side Social Agencies, of which the author is chairman, through its recreation committee.

the community in preparing and carrying out its plan to meet the requirements of each individual case.

The fourth point involves the application of the preventive program *systematically* to *all* children in the delinquency area of the local community. At the present writing no crime-prevention agency has been able to carry out this procedure. Yet it is an essential element in any program of effective crime prevention and it is a relatively simple matter when once the problem is understood and an adequate crime-prevention agency is established. It is assumed that the delinquency area, which breeds crime, has been definitely delimited.¹⁴ This at once reduces the size of the juvenile population which must be dealt with by excluding the nondelinquency areas. Delinquency areas are usually districts of congested population with high ratios of children in the general population. The problem now becomes one of sifting out those cases which we have called "predelinquents," that is, children who by virtue of behavior problems already manifested or conditions in their biological or social backgrounds are likely to become delinquents. Truants from school and very young delinquents, adolescents who are first offenders, children with a record of delinquency in their immediate families, children living in blocks with excessively high delinquency rates, nondelinquents associated with delinquent gangs, etc., are cases in point. With the development of research and the availability of numerous records bearing upon the beginnings of criminal careers, we shall undoubtedly eventually possess definite indices which will enable us to predict with some degree of precision what children are most likely to become delinquents.¹⁵ At present, we are in possession of sufficient knowledge to enable us to bring a crime-prevention program within the limits of practicability by the process of sifting indicated above and the concentration of effort upon critical cases. When we say that our program must be applied systematically to all children in the delinquency area, we mean that all children must be considered in the sifting process which will

¹⁴The methods of delimiting delinquency areas have already been well established by the work of Clifford R. Shaw and others who have delimited the delinquency areas for many American cities.

¹⁵The methods worked out by Glueck and by Burgess and Tibbets in predicting the violation of parole give promise in this direction.

rule out the majority—those who are functioning within an adequate social framework—and leave a considerable residuum of potential criminals whose problems must be dealt with. The emphasis here is upon a systematic approach to the problem which foregoes the hit-or-miss procedure of the average agency of the so-called character-building type and pursues a method designed to catch all the potential delinquents in the area and especially to forestall the overlooking of any critical cases.

The final procedure in the five-point program for the prevention of crime is the creation of new agencies where existing facilities are demonstrated to be inadequate (by research based on special investigation and experience).

The possibility of such a basic program of crime prevention becomes more sure as the logic of our knowledge of the problem of the gang and of crime becomes more inescapable. Social planning becomes more and more inevitable as pragmatic tests are applied to our present disorganized social structure. There is no panacea for the solution of the gang problem and its related problem of crime. The market for crime must be considered as well as the supply of criminals, and this is still another problem. In dealing with the gangster and the criminal we have spent far too much thought and money upon how to repress the finished product of the delinquent career. Economy demands that the emphasis be shifted to the problem of prevention which attacks the roots of crime in those areas of the community which are known to be crime-breeding centers.

Important progress in the prevention of disease and the promotion of public health has come about as the result of various health (disease-prevention) demonstrations such as the Social Unit experiment in Cincinnati, Ohio, and other health demonstrations financed by contributions from foundations and public-spirited citizens. Similarly, the time is ripe for adequately financed citizenship (crime-prevention) demonstrations which shall be carried on experimentally over a period of years in various parts of the country. Thus principles of crime prevention can be established and the resulting prophylaxis for crime can be more widely applied by public and private agencies.

BOOK REVIEWS

Trade Training in School and Plant, by HERMAN S. HALL.

New York: The Century Company, 1930, 500 pages.

The avowed purpose of this volume is to provide a handbook for the skilled mechanic who finds himself under the necessity of becoming a teacher, and also for the beginning teacher who is also beginning to realize that knowing his trade is only half the game; he must now learn the new game of teaching. For one who has had but little acquaintance with matters pedagogical, this volume will serve as an excellent introduction. It is replete with illustrative material which will help the neophytic teacher through the routine daily tasks incidental to conducting a class.

Restriction of Output Among Unorganized Workers, by STANLEY B. MATHEWSON. New York: The Viking Press, 1931, x+212 pages.

The study, which was sponsored by the Personnel Research Foundation, undertook to answer the question, "Do American workmen, uninfluenced by trade unions, soldier on the job?" Mr. Mathewson has been able to divorce his problem from that of the influences, both favorable and unfavorable, which trade unions exercise over production. His narrative should be especially illuminating to foremen, production executives, and social scientists who want their thinking about human behavior in an industrial society to be grounded in reality. The most significant chapters in the book are: Workers' Pressure for Restriction, "Boss Ordered" Restriction, Restriction and the Fear of Unemployment, Personal Grievances and Restriction, The Economics of Restriction of Output, and What Can Employers Do About It?

Educational Experiments in Industry, NATHANIEL PEFFER.

New York: The Macmillan Company, 1932, 207 pages (Studies in Adult Education).

Following a brief introduction in which the author traces the development of education for industry from the apprenticeship system through formal education to training on the job, the remaining chapters describe in some detail the educational program of more than fifty industries in the United States. Although primarily a factual survey, the serious question is raised "whether the educational goal industry now sets itself is the real one or a deceptive one and whether it is worth the effort."

The Incidence of Work Shortage, by MARGARET H. HOGG.

New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1932, 127 pages.

This book is the report of a survey by sample of families (over 2,000 households) made in New Haven, Connecticut, in May-June 1931. It

gives a clear-cut picture of the incidence of unemployment for different groups of workers, contrasted by sex, age, nativity, marital status, occupation, etc. It was surprising to find that unskilled work was much less reduced by the depression than was skilled or semiskilled work. Yet unskilled workers have the highest rate of unemployment, for their field is invaded by the skilled and semiskilled who have lost their usual type of work. Of special value is the picture of the occupational shifts that occur during a period of unemployment, which information is lacking in previous surveys on unemployment.

The Money Value of a Man, by LOUIS I. DUBLIN and ALFRED J. LOTKA. New York: Ronald Press, 1930, xv+264 pages.

This book was developed primarily out of the authors' work and interest in the life-insurance business. The authors attempt to place a money value on wage earners of different classes. Through their statistical tables they hope to give information which would be of value to judges and juries, to lawyers and compensation boards, in making adjudications. The methods and results used by the authors can and will be used on a wide scale in discussions dealing with such national and international questions as the human cost of war, the international war debts, and our own obligation for veterans' pensions. Obviously all of these questions center around the money value of men at various ages.

Supervision and the Creative Teacher, Fifth Yearbook, Department of Supervisors and Directors of Instruction, National Education Association. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1932, x+348 pages.

Those interested in progressive education, and especially in that aspect of it which is concerned with the stimulation of creative effort by teachers, should feel tremendously encouraged over the recognition accorded their position by the volume under review. The volume contains some valuable contributions. The rather detailed and clear statement of the problem which constitutes chapter I is well worth reading. It helps to make clear that much abused word, "creative."

Growth and Development of the Child: Part I, General Considerations. White House Conference on Child Health and Protection. Report of the Committee on Growth and Development, Kenneth D. Blackfan, M.D., chairman. New York: The Century Company, 1932, 377 pages.

The estimation of normal physiological activity and growth, the maintenance of health, diseases in relation to growth and development,

and many related problems. Of interest to physical educators and child-health agencies.

Growth and Development of the Child: Part IV, Appraisal of the Child. White House Conference on Child Health and Protection. Report of the Committee on Growth and Development, Kenneth D. Blackfan, M.D., chairman. New York: The Century Company, 1932, 344 pages.

The appraisal of the child's mental status (testing intelligence and motor skills, behavior development, and emotional stability—with discussion of related scientific problems) and the child's physical status (types of examination and devices for use in determining physical status—with discussion of related scientific problems). Of interest to all students of child development.

Psychology and Psychiatry in Pediatrics: The Problem. White House Conference on Child Health and Protection. Report of the Subcommittee on Psychology and Psychiatry, Bronson Crothers, M.D., chairman. New York: The Century Company, 1932, 145 pages.

Discussion of present practice of psychiatry with children: clinics, children's hospitals, juvenile courts, schools, psychiatric social workers and visiting teachers, and the general practitioner. Discussion of needs and policies. Of interest to all school administrators in relation to health and guidance programs.

Vocational Guidance. White House Conference on Child Health and Protection. Report of the Subcommittee on Vocational Guidance, M. Edith Campbell, chairman. New York: The Century Company, 1932, 396 pages.

Principles and practices, study of the individual, interviewing, counseling, curriculum work, occupational studies, junior employment services, social and legal conditions, and many related problems. Good bibliography. The best survey of the field available. Of interest to all teachers of vocational subjects and vocational counselors.

I Find My Vocation, by HARRY DEXTER KITSON. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1931, 261 pages.

An excellent text for a course in vocations in a high school. Organized around individual projects. Emphasis on biographical material, interviewing successful people, analyzing oneself, trying out the vocation, the employer's point of view.

